1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

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Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

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daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

ing arms. A wife or female slave often accompanied each man to cook for him. But local townspeople were also expected to supply the army with food when it passed through their territory. However, it was preferred that the army be self-sufficient even to the point of digging their own wells. Discipline obviously posed some problems since the records indicate that at times army morale was low, especially during long, arduous campaigns. However, it picked up very quickly when the prospect of booty was in evidence.

The Nineteenth Century Kingdom

From the beginning of the nineteenth century our records and understanding of Bornu society increased enormously mostly because of the availability of excellent first-hand accounts such as those by Denham and Clapperton in the 1820s, Barth in the 1850s, and Nachtigal in the 1880s. When put together with the oral traditions these accounts fill out a fairly complete picture of Bornu society during the last century.

In the early part of the century Bornu political life was complicated by a fiction. The ancient Sefuwa rulers were still holding court while the Kanembu Shehus were in strict control of the state. This meant that many of the ancient titles lost their meaning because their functions were taken over by members of the Shehu's following. For example, the title of Kaigama, associated traditionally with leadership of the army while on a campaign, was dropped. Instead the Shehu used the title of Kachella, which had previously meant a slave follower who bears arms. Under the Shehus, Kachellas became powerful leaders of armed regiments of their own followers, the size of each Kachella's force being an indicator of his power and rank. At the same time the idea of raising military levies from fiefs was not dropped. Nevertheless the structure had changed, for now the Shehus used Kachellas and their permanent armed following as the military core of the state. Much later in the century, after the collapse of the Sefuwa dynasty, the title of Kaigama or war leader reappeared and was applied to the most powerful of these Kachella. In other words, a number of the old titles of Bornu could not be used in the nineteenth century, since at its beginning these titles were still associated with the old dynasty and its ancient court.

Although titles were varied to some extent, and new ones connected to the names of loyal followers of the Shehu appeared during the double regency, the Shehus organized their governmental administration in somewhat the same manner as that of the earlier Bornu state. The idea of the four quadrants atrophied while the old quadrant leaders remained under the ancient dynasty; and, as in the case of the war leader, these titles were not utilized until the old dynasty had been done away with. They were then absorbed into the general hierarchy of titles of those closely associated with the Shehu. However, the general idea of administering through quadrants was never used again. The Shehu's court met every day to discuss state matters and adjudicate cases when necessary. The Shehu sat on a raised dais and behind him in a semi-circle sat the male members of the royal family who were eligible for the throne. Sitting facing one another in two parallel lines in front of the group were nobles of the realm, slave and free, except for the Galidi-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

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In later generations they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came a very powerful group of chiefs through whom the kingdom was administered. When these men went to their districts, sometimes they had precolonial ties in these areas as big lords—some of the constituent towns in the district were their former fiefs; sometimes however they were complete strangers to the area. Besides this there was a constant shuffling of different district heads through transfers, dismissals, retirements, and deaths. The various village area heads under each district head were chosen on the basis of investigations conducted by the British colonial officials to find out who among the population had the hereditary right to leadership for a particular local settlement and its satellite communities. Very often there was no tie of previous loyalty between the village area head and the new district head. Previously the problem had been solved by sending out a chima gana or junior lord who represented the fief-holder. He had lived in the fief and created a set of loyal local followers. At first district heads did the same things. They sent out their own representatives—now called chima—to run the village areas in their district for them. This practice was soon discovered by the British and as early as 1910 was declared illegal, although it continued on until well into the 1930s, and there are even some district heads today who admit they use chima to ensure control of their district. In Chapter 6 we will take up this problem again and examine it in more detail within the organization of the district.

The central government of the emirate has undergone a number of significant changes under colonialism. At first the Shehu collected taxes on settled peoples through the district heads and taxes on nomads through two trusted slave nobles. This proved unsatisfactory to the British who very early in the century changed the system so that each district head was responsible for tax collection on both settled and on nomad populations in his district. This weakened the power of the Shehu, but at the same time (*ca.* 1914) the British began enforcing among themselves the idea that they must deal with the Bornu government through the Shehu and his Council. Thus good or bad reports of the district heads or village area heads had to be officially put through the Shehu giving him a great deal of either protective or punitive power over his district and village chiefs.

After 1914 there was an increasing effort to create a working Council for the Shehu with a modern treasury from which local planning could be financed. Starting with only a few members it has grown slowly through the years to function as a cabinet with a Waziri or chief minister at its helm. Each councilor has a portfolio or Native Authority department, such as Education, Works, Agriculture, and so on, and these have central offices in the capital with representatives spread out in district capitals throughout Bornu. The experience in this twentieth-century emirate has produced Kanuri who now take part in regional and national politics so that men from Bornu sit in Kaduna, Lagos, London, and even at the United Nations in New York.

The movement of fief-holders out into the bush to administer districts produced a district capital where the ajia or district head resides. To this capital he brought his urban followers; and to the village as well came the district judge and his retinue. As the Native Authority departments developed, local representatives of the various civil service departments of the emirate government came out to the district capital as well. This makes the district capital a more complex and urbanized center and has forced the effects of such urbanization to spread widely

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throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

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423 592 been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer, simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

423 241 Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader 423 can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings. [428] As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in [691] Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

463 [241] [221] Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering. These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

463 467 [622] [178] Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job, and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional patterns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meetings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local government from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the taxes raised in the district and they meet primarily to discuss the dispensation of these funds. Usually this has to do with items of local improvement such as market stalls in various villages in the district, radios for hamlets and villages, etc. They also draft resolutions asking the emirate government for help in extending roads, building wells, and so on.

The official representative from the capital—previously from the colonial government, now the local government department of the emirate—who attends the meetings provides a link between this group and the central government in Maiduguri. He advises them on what is and what is not feasible in terms of their requests to the central government and also informs them of long-range development policies and plans by the central emirate government.

So far these councils are quite weak. They meet only a few times a year and have a very limited function. However as time goes on they could assume the role of a local legislative and administrative body made up of people who represent the developing needs of ordinary people to participate in decisions affecting their own local areas.

During the last decade or so another form of political activity has come to Bornu in the form of political parties. The traditional authorities, the district heads, lawans, judges, officials of the Native Authority, and all their followers, support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other parts of Northern Nigeria and forms the dominant element in the federal government of Nigeria. Several days a week in various parts of Maiduguri, but only rarely in rural areas, public meetings are held under the green flag of the N.P.C. Meetings are usually preceded by drumming and traditional dancing by divorced women. Then party organizers make speeches to the assembled crowds. Sometimes the "big men" such as the district heads or Native Authority Councilors attend these meetings especially around election time, but they themselves and candidates for office do not speak. To do so is considered demeaning for the "big men." Instead party organizers give long, loud harangues extolling the virtues of the N.P.C. and go into great detail about the evils propagated by other political parties in Nigeria.

The overall effect of these political meetings is one of tradition versus its breakdown, good versus evil, ethnic and religious unity and loyalty versus disunity and disloyalty. The real, everyday authority in the lives of the people obviously supports the N.P.C. Thus a vote against this party means much more than a simple political decision to support one contending group of leaders against another; it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference that moral order that holds it together. Listeners at the meetings are constantly presented with moral choices; "are you against our own chiefs, the district heads, lawans, our Shehu?—well *they*, the opposition parties, are; are you against wives being obedient to their husbands?—well *they* are; are you against children being obedient to their parents?—well *they* are," and so on. Stories are told of people whose parents were fine and upstanding citizens who supported and were supported by their leaders. Then their children ran away and supported opposition parties having first rejected the authority, love, affection and support of their own parents. Such people are now vagrants with no families, no proper connections to a respectable Kanuri household, no place in society, and no proper place in the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 208 [186] social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the Southern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 175 578 648 [523] [579] During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The British colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Authority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder, riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them correct, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled [167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

665 648 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 105 178 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times. As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 12 182 592 829 44 571

What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business enterprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same household. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *barzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 12 178

It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators [178] are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding [177] western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

Chapter I

The Setting

[1-1]

101 For at least a millenium the drama of empire has been played out in an immense area of Africa known as the western Sudan which lies at the southern fringe of the Sahara and stretches in a roughly east-west direction across the continent from the Atlantic to Lake Chad. [178] [631] Bornu is one of the oldest of these and has maintained itself as an ongoing political unit from early times into the modern world. Today the empire is a Muslim Emirate included as a sub-division of Bornu Province in the Chad basin of northeastern Nigeria. The Emirate has 162 [131] an area of approximately 24,000 square miles and a population of [161] 1,005,000 (1952 census) of which 626,000 are Kanuri, and 156,000 are Fulani and Shuwa nomads.(1) The remaining 224,000 people include an unspecified number of small pagan groups in the south of the Emirate together with other Nigerians mostly from the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba tribes. There are as well 5,000 non-Nigerians including Levantines, Europeans and Africans from other countries.

132 [131] The Emirate lies within latitudes 11 to 13 N. and longitudes 11 to 13½ S. and has a typical sub-Saharan savannah climate. There is a mean daily maximum temperature of 94° F. from March to June and a mean daily minimum of 66° F. from July to February. The rainfall varies from north to south, being somewhat heavier in the south. Mean rainfall figures in inches per month at Maiduguri for the last thirty-six years are as follows:

J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
.01	-	.01	.25	1.59	2.56	6.81	8.80	4.23	.75	.01	-

(1) The Province as a whole has a population of 1,596,000 of which 753,000 are Kanuri. Thus over 80% of the present Kanuri population of the Province live within the boundaries of the Emirate.

177 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are
563 many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 The culture of a people never remains static; it is con-
105 stantly changing in response to forces, both external and in-
177 ternal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957)
Dol Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
643 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appoint-
634 ments formally need not be approved by the British administra-
tion, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nine-
631 teenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
78 Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times,
[651] since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[829] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view
the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the polit-
ical system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions
of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit,
the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which pro-
tects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri
could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the pro-
tection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his
own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might
have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to
take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of
Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

692 779 Maliki law, a particular school of Islamic law which became established in this part of the Western Sudan. Kanuri judges, trained in the Kano Law School, administer the law as alkalis. But all court records were open to the District Officer (who, incidentally, had Magisterial powers), and though he could not legally overrule an alkali's decisions, the District Officer could be instrumental in having an alkali replaced.

625 648 Still more important, the Native Authority of Bornu Emirate maintains a police force with semi-autonomous functions, which was controlled by a British Assistant Superintendent of Police. He was under the real control of the British Provincial administration, and was able to investigate with a free hand. The actions of the police force served to keep down crime and therefore to protect the citizenry. But the police force served the additional function of indicating to the Kanuri Native Authority that the force behind the legal system was under the control of an outside agency.

665 178 Lastly, with reference to changes in the total political system which effect Kanuri culture, recent years have brought about the development of regional political parties. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the party in power in the House of Assembly of the Northern Region, has been strongly identified with the traditional ruling powers, the Emirs of the North, and is so viewed by the bulk of the population. Opposition parties have grown in importance, particularly in the urban areas where they receive their main support. The Bornu Youth

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Maiduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 829 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

437 452 441 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him. The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier. Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them. Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought to another company which is offering a higher price. He will then return his original cash advance to the first company with his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many different sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than having sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members were poor villagers a generation ago. [556]

128 788 556 441 An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trading class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrimage, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacrifice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one, [554]

178 though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys.
788
556 The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered
441 plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually
[509] means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 Many of the political and economic changes brought about
178 by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri
175 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact,
565 the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of
[554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a gen-
565 eral sense, along with wealth and political office. Many of
178 these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

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494 A number of material changes have been introduced which have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178
312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[653] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the dig-
[361] ging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriv-
[563] ing village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart- [743] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by [757] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried [563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group 131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Ni- 134 geria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function- 121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

121 The variables which provide the conceptual basis of the present study are social structure and acculturation. Before one can single out individual groups and focus attention on behavioral patterns which are associated with those groups it is necessary to delineate the larger structural features of Kanuri society so that the particular groups which have been selected for more careful examination can be seen in their societal context. In similar fashion, acculturated behavior can only be evaluated when one has a general understanding of the more stable behavioral norms which characterize Kanuri culture. It is against the background of the expectable Kanuri behavioral patterns that items of acculturated behavior takes on significance.

177 178 It was noted in the previous chapter that important external forces are acting to bring about changes in Kanuri culture. While these are powerful forces, and the changes themselves are far-reaching and significant, Kanuri culture still retains its essential integration. This can be seen in several areas: in the consistency of people's behavior, in the stress placed on important Kanuri values, and in the integration of Kanuri personality which is apparent despite acculturation. The present chapter is devoted to the presentation of these general features of Kanuri culture.

A. Larger Features of the Economy

1. Ecology, Settlement Patterns and Land Tenure.

161 There are strong indications that the population of Bornu

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[643] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
425
[78]

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable loca-
241 tions in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
221 in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing season is short as rain falls only in the months between May and September and not at all for the remainder of the year. Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing time is relatively short and any delay in planting might reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[731] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since World War I, that famine is remembered as a cataatrophe. Older people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine. In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

External

443 438 366 [439] trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." People from small surrounding villages without markets will come into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse. [484] [369]

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 643 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same. [178]

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

El Kanemi brought
175 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the
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565 nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back
177 the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar
175 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly
178 from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth
565 centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weakness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained
175 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble
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565 Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, according to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well understood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the
644
565 royal family were given large tracts of land, including many
631 villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid
423 to the central government and for their own uses. In like fash-
[651] ion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were
175 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in
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175 643 642 was indeed absolute. Only the advice of his Imam or of his Koranic Malams might sway or alter his decisions, but this was no more than advice. It might be pointed out to him that a particular course of action was counter to the writings of the Koran, and he might ignore the advice at his peril, but the ultimate decision was his.

2. The Political Organization of the Empire in the Twentieth Century.

175 648 642 • 178 In 1893 the empire of Bornu suffered what seemed to be the final blow. An army under the leadership of Rabeh, a follower and foster son of Zubeir Pasha of the Sudan, defeated the army of the Shehu of Bornu, overran the empire, and for seven years subjected it to their plunder. In 1900 the French captured and killed Rabeh. Two years later the British entered Bornu. Their first act was to restore the line of the Shehus to the throne. Thus, the empire of Bornu was perpetuated by the colonial powers, though itself unable to resist attack successfully. Restoration by the British brought about a continuation and revival of the old political organization which persists into the present. Through this structure, with some additions and modifications, the British ruled for 58 years in Bornu.

175 648 634 178 From the point of view of the Kanuri villager, the political system under the British was hardly different from that under which his father had lived before the coming of Rabeh. The British did away with the chimas, replacing them with District

175 Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two,
178 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
648 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
634 Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the
[642] two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
634 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna
632 they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[642] ans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. Religion

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

592 important man then exercises his choice by asking for the child
597 should he observe it to be bright and attractive, or neglecting
557 to ask should he for some reason not want the child. The child is usually given at the time of weaning. If the child is given to his chibuna, he does not return to visit his real parents, as there is shame (nungu) involved, though he will not call his adopted parent "my mother", or "my father." A man treats his adopted son (his chibuna--a reciprocal term) just as he would
[428] treat his own son. However, the boy does not inherit from his
[583] chibuna. The head of the household does supply his adopted son with a bride-price when he marries.

557 Many boys are named after nobles, after Lowans and Ajias.
592 Some of these chibuna are taken into the aristocratic household,
597 though a good many are not and grow up in their true father's
568 household. Certain talaka household heads have become very wealthy in the recent years, and have three or even four wives and very large households. Neighbors and acquaintances may name their sons after these men, who may then take their young chibuna into their household. It is clear, therefore, that size and composition of one's household is related to the old system of social stratification (royalty, aristocracy, talaka, slaves), since slaves are part of the household of both royalty and aris-
[178] tocracy. It is also related to the rise of new classes of people, as a result of changing economic and political conditions, and this can be seen in the giving of children to household heads who are themselves talaka, but have become powerful and wealthy.

173 614 613 from Yemen, consequently the dynasty of the Mais of Bornu is referred to as the Sef dynasty. There are twelve such sub-jilis within the jili Magumi. If within the sub-jili Sef a man should arise to great power and importance, his future descendants would refer to him as the ancestor of their sub-sub-jili (lineage) of the sub-jili Sef. One informant, who is Kanembu (but culturally Kanuri), gave the following pedigree: Kanembu, jili Kuvuri, sub-jili Kongana, sub-sub-jili Malam Shia. Malam Shia was an important historic personage who is considered to be the founder of the lineage which bears his name.

173 643 614 The Sef dynasty came to an end after the Fulani invasions, and Shehu Laminu established the line of the present Shehus though he himself never ruled as king. Shehu Laminu was Kanembu, of the jili Kuvuri. He was followed into Bornu by a number of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, with their retinue, who assisted [178] him in driving back the Fulani. Shehu Laminu was instrumental in further reducing the role of the jilis by appointing a Shetima Kanuribe (Shetima is a noble title) as head of all the Kanuri, replacing the various heads of the jilis; he did the same for the Shuwas under him.

614 178 Today everyone knows his own jili, and the jili of his parents, which may and usually does differ, but the jili no longer performs any social function. Few people can give their sub-jili. [643] Many of the jilis today have a nominal head. The present Shehu is obviously head of all the Kanembu Kuvuri. The head of the Kanuri Magumi is the former Waziri Ibranim. The Shetima Kanuribe

614 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tamagəri, is Alhaji Mal Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in 178 [643] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mal Manga was appointed chief of his region by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British [643] Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noogna) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

121 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

175 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The gawi
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554 is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a
[304] new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who
175 was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice
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554 in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part
592 of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The susana of an important noble shares some of that importance by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits
428 his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of
[643] property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or
567 free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are
567 themselves free. A slave says "kəmanyi" (my lord) to his mas-
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• 178 ter, though nowadays people say that "kəmanyi" is said only to Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kəmanyi" to the

567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "komanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and
[673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular wife if he so wishes.

576 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[291] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear
[554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function
[369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
564 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the impoverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
463 the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and
[441] cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

However, there
565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

h. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
• 178 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-
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698 642 178 565 ence, British administrative officers made all final policy decisions. Since the system of social stratification finds its support in the political organization of the Kanuri state, and since that state is no longer the ultimate authority of the land, one might expect great changes in the social system today. While significant changes have been occurring, the old system of social stratification has been able to survive, in certain respects supported and bolstered by British colonial rule. It continues to shape Kanuri society today and to adapt itself to new conditions and new demands.

[643] The Shehu and the royal family are still present, and the Shehu continues to wield political power. Though a British resident was the ultimate authority, he acted through the Shehu [829] and the Shehu's council. In the eyes of the Kanuri people, the Shehu still was the symbol of the Kanuri state, though all Kanuri recognized that the White man (nasara) was present as super-authority.

178 565 634 Titled nobility are still present, and retain much of their political power since they still control the great majority of District Headships. It is striking to note how many Ajias, who replaced the chimas of old, are the heads of old noble families and the present holders of great Kanuri titles, [829] both slave and free. The descendants of the chimas are the bulk of the Ajias, so it is not surprising that the talaka continue to view them as chimas and to use the term in referring to their present Ajia.

567 178 [554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 565 555 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political power. 178 556 565 441 Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy individuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

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441 wealthy and more powerful than at any previous time in Kanuri history.

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565 The old system of stratification was a rigid system. Present conditions have led to increased flexibility in the stratification system, by providing new avenues to power, to wealth and to prestige. This has meant that the relationship between categories of individuals within Kanuri society today is changed from the relationship which they maintained in former times. [121] These changes in the social structure become a focus of attention of the present study.

42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 226 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may not be sold.

425 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as
a 178 a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 671 certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, according to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming
[651] to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to remain in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor may he sell that land except under special conditions. However, one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam. According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for 425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal 695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 565 592 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head [465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment 241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some 565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and 464 may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap- [178] proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm 241 427 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced. 241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him. 634 Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to [423]

441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the fətkema, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the tabərma, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fətkema are organized under a head man; the tabərma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the tabərma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
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463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
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• 178 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

634 [692] [812] trict. The Alkali is in charge of the Geidam District court, a grade 'C' court according to the British ranking system, but the most important of the district courts. The Headmaster and his three teachers run the Geidam Primary School. The various experts, such as the veterinary, dispenser, etc., are all educated men who have been trained in their specialty. They are, however, NA appointees and are directly under the authority [632] of the Ajia. Only the Lowans are concerned solely with the town itself, and they, too, it will be seen, are directly responsible to the Ajia.

618 634 The British instituted a formal Village Council, with an elected membership of fifteen to twenty. The Ajia is Chairman, and Alhaji Amadu Kolon, an important canteen owner and trader, is the elected vice-chairman. There is also a District Council similarly instituted, with the Ajia again as Chairman. Its twenty-five to thirty members are all Lowans of Geidam District [178], save for four or five. In contrast to these formal councils, there is an informal and traditional Kanuri council which consists of the people who come and sit at the gateway (chinna) of the Ajari while Yerima Mustapha is arbitrating disputes. It is made up of a shifting membership, some more permanent than others, which includes important kabuna of the Ajia's, NA officials who are in a special relationship with the Ajia, and some of the important citizens of the town.

634 692 Only the Alkali is not under the direct authority of the Ajia, and in theory the courts and the executive branch, repre-

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634 612 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to operate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of

• 178 648 63 government. When the social system persists and old Kanuri values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 178 625 698 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly in the following example describing the functioning of the police in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of [661] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

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177 branches of the NA administration. Geidam has a Police Charge
178 Office and a prison. Heading the police contingent in Geidam
625 is a Sergeant, with two corporals and about fifteen men in his
648 command. In September, 1956 the Sergeant in command was Sergeant Ali. He seemed to have a good relationship with both Alkali Baba Kura and with Yerima Mustapha, yet two months later he was replaced by a new man, Sergeant Usman. The reasons given were that he had had difficulties with the Ajia, who had asked that he be replaced. Sergeant Usman was not seen in the Ajari frequently, although Sergeant Ali had often been present
177 there. It was not until late in the field trip that the in-
178 formation was revealed (in private, of course) that the new
625 Sergeant, Sergeant Usman, was a slave of Yerima's. Years ago,
648 at the death of Laminu Jitia, the great-grandfather of Yerima
567 Mustapha, the Shehu took for himself most of his property in-
571 cluding a slave called Kazella Kadria. This, of course, is the Shehu's prerogative towards his kabuna, of which Laminu Jitia was one of the most prominent. Kazella Kadria was the grandfather of Sergeant Usman, who, strictly speaking, was a slave of the Shehu's. His own father grew up as a slave of the Shehu, but Sergeant Usman knows that Yerima Mustapha is the direct lineal descendant and successor to the position of his great-grandfather Laminu Jitia, to whom Sergeant Usman's grandfather once belonged, and he behaves accordingly to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia of Geidam. This relationship is never mentioned by either party, but it can be seen permeating every

177 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman
178 comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is
625 never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in
648 retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be
567 in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature
571 of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police
662 is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the
178 political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a
[Sol] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

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571 his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to
662 replace him with one of his own men.
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178 The kabuna represent a special category in the adminis-
571 tration of the district. The colonial administration makes no
631 provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are
66 all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no
salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

571 Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some
634 are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

175 The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town
called Damjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

651 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
563 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compro-
66 mised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[61] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from Jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 The roles of a number of political figures have been dis-
63 cussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[63] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-
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[GEIDAM]

634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
177
554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[463] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
554 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
565 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
871 Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

634 871 555 177 565 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 78 [184] Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 [185] prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

[BEIDAM]

G. Social Stratification in Geidam.

56 178 177 369 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are: the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the social structure of an urban community; and the influences on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

565 [554] Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the positions of greatest power in the community. The term aristocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. However, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momoh Yerima's nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy. Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

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56
177 prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.
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The direct influence of the British colonial administra-
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567 tion has removed the legal support behind the master-slave
565 relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold,
648 and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to their masters by the police. This has radically altered the relation between master and slave, so that the distinction between slave and free-born is significant only in special cases.

64 By and large, the colonial administration, because of
177 its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to
178 remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as
565 previously held power. However, some changes have been made by the British, so that representatives are elected to a North-
634 ern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam,
177 political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typ-
•178 ifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is
565 a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapted to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order. Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another traditional group which has continued on into the present in Gei-
[648] dam. The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

[GEIDAM]

634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
565 previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
[648] ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
565 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
665 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
648 sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

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177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
[632] are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best categorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri culture has always been associated with prestige, and the most learned people were also among the most respected. This is true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
[578] referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
632 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best educated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals who, through traditional associations, are involved in the political system but have received little or no Western education.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power and
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prestige in addition to those previously available in Kanuri culture, and that these new paths are sometimes in conflict with the traditional paths. These conflicts in turn have brought about shifts in the relative positions of certain groups in the community structure, particularly among the talaka. The position of these groups in relation to one another in the community of Geidam represents the social structure of Geidam. The social structure of Geidam, then, is a result of the interaction of the three variables discussed here: the traditional system of social stratification, the urban nature of the community, and the influences upon it of the Industrial West.

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

785 183 178 [369] Turning from the area of Western material goods, several questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads affecting religious practices can be seen among some very acculturated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were [792] there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These [441] are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely [554] to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

177 against whom they have a complaint before either authority.
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829 Those who would take their disputes directly to court (column 4) offer a variety of reasons for so doing, but the basis of their reasoning is that: the court can determine the truth (and frequently people are required to swear on the Koran in court); the court can enforce its decisions; and sholo requires both parties to accept and be bound by the decision of the
177 arbitrator (see *e and *k) while the court does not. The 11
627 individuals whose answers fall in column 4 represent members
691 of 6 groups, but the highest proportion of respondents giving
829 this answer is to be found among the Canteen Operators. Three
44 of this group said "court"; only two said "Ajia first and then court." Furthermore, their reasons for taking a dispute to court are not as convincing as those of other individuals who would also take their disputes to court. In *d are to be found the responses of the three Canteen Operators who would take their disputes directly to court. Neither the first nor the second answer are reasonable explanations. Bribery is possible in cases brought for sholo and equally possible in cases brought before an Alkali; it is no more proper for a Moslem to go to court than it is for him to bring his dispute for arbitration. The third answer is more convincing, though it says only a portion
178 of what might be said. It seems clear that the Canteen Operators as a group would be more likely to take cases before the Alkali rather than before the Lowan or Ajia because of their own changing status in the social structure. Because they are

#177 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more powerful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on traditional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict, and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is because they are unsure of their own position in relation to that of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

627 691 #829 441 178

935 517 431 [554]

The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and generosity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share what he has with others who have little. The individual who occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

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735 [BEIDAN]

that you give only to someone who will work for you.

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735 Of the 8 who placed conditions on giving, 3 are in the group of Canteen Operators. Once again, the unusual nature
441 of this group within the social structure explains their tend-
178 ency to place conditions on generosity and charity. They are
565 probably wealthier as a group than the NA Malams, but not wealthier than the Aristocracy. One cannot attribute their hesitancy in giving to the fact that as a wealthy group they are frequently called upon to perform acts of charity. The NA Malams and the Aristocracy are also called upon, yet they place fewer conditions on outright giving. Yerima Mustapha, the wealthiest man in the sample by far, merely replied that he would give the gown. The explanation lies once again in the rapid rise of the Canteen Operators as a group in the recent years, and the uncertainty of their place in the social structure. Others are not certain what place the Canteen Operators really occupy, and still less sure about how the Canteen Operator sees himself in the social structure. Because of this the Canteen Operator is much more likely to be approached with requests for charity than would be a member of the Aristocracy. The position of the Aristocrat, the Lowan for example, is clearly defined as is the place of each individual in relation to him. Only those who have reason to believe that their requests will be honored will come to the Aristocrat with requests for charity. The Aristocrat and the beggar both know when the request is a reasonable one and when it is not, and few are likely to

[GEIDAM]

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178 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridicu-
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565 lous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Op-
431 erator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity.
[577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (_loku_), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

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871 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving ac-
829 culturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional
562 Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]

[GEIDAM]

tion. This is the most common response for four of the eight groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka. Except for the case of "NA work" (column 5), none of the categories can be rated as being more acculturated choices or less acculturated choices. All are traditional categories within Kanuri society. The area of trade, however, though not a new innovation brought about by contact with the West, has undergone the most significant changes as a result of Western influences. It has previously been noted that the trading group has grown wealthy and powerful in recent years as a result of outside influences. The reasons given by several Talaka who chose trade (*k) indicate that it is this aspect of trade which they find most appealing. Trade offers people an opportunity to become wealthy and important and to rise in significance in the social structure. In this sense, the choice of "trader" as one's desired occupation represents an acculturated response.

Considering each of the eight groups in turn, it is interesting that even two of the aristocracy succumb to the lure of trade. One Aristocrat (*a) states that he would rather be a trader than an Ajia. Others in the group give traditionally oriented responses, particularly *c who has selected a time-honored ambition (though it, too, has a very modern twist to it). The Koranic Malams would all like to be Koranic Malams, though few others selected this as their desired occupation (see Table XXXIII). The Canteen Operators all would like to be in no other occupation than trade. It is interesting that 3 of the 6 spe-

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paid tribute to imperial Bornu, although very often the Songhai would extend themselves and the Hausa would face around for a short while to bow to the suserainty of Timbuctu.(1) Kanuri power also extended up into the Fezzan taking in the important salt works of Bilma. In the east, Bornu hegemony probably reached into the Darfur region and in the south to the present town of Biu in south Bornu.(2)

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From this pinnacle of majesty at the beginning of the 17th century a slow decline ensued which continued from the time of the 55th Mai, Muhammed (1602-1618 A.D.), son of Mai Idris Alooma, through the 18th century until the collapse of the second Kanuri empire in 1808. Although none of the writers are agreed on the causes of this decline it is possible that the monarchy and the court life had become so overly elaborate and ritualized, that it hampered the operation of effective leadership in a state requiring constant vigilance and warfare for its survival. It is reported that throughout almost the entire 18th century, the Mais rarely, if ever, left the confines of the palace during their reigns.(3) Traditions during this period tell of famines and pious leadership, rather than administrative and military successes.

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From about the 14th century onwards a nomadic cattle people, the Fulani, had been filtering into the Sudan from the northwest and slowly moving across the whole of what is today Northern Nigeria. In February of 1804, for a number of political and religious reasons, a Fulani religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, declared a Hejira, or Flight from Digal (evil), which was an expression of defiance and aggression towards the Hausa leaders. From this period forward he and his warrior-scholar son, Bello, carried on a holy war in the Sudan that resulted finally in an empire

(1) Shaw, F. L. (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p. 279
(2) Arkell, A.J. The History of Darfur; Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 33 p. 246.
(3) Stenning, D. Nomads of the Great Forest (Ms.) 1955

175 to Bello and complained that violence was being used for political
721 aggrandizement, not religious conversion. Bello replied that the attacks were justified because of the oppression of the Fulani in Bornu, and the heathen practices of the Kanuri people, and because of aid given by Bornu to Kano and Katsina to resist the holy war.

Between 1809 and 1811 the capital fell again to the Fulani and was retaken a second time by Laminu for the Kanuri, but it was aban-
175 doned from this time forward as the center of the Bornu state. The results
• 178 of these few years were cataclysmic for the history of Bornu. The Fulani
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643 invasion was halted, although the western vassals were now under the sovereignty of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto. Bornu had survived the Jihad (holy war), but at the cost of her famous capital of Birni Gazargamo, and the loss of a dynasty of rulers, the Magumi Sefuwa, who had retained the monarchy for 1000 years. For in appealing to Laminu for help, the Kanuri Mai triggered off the beginning of his and his family's end as the effective monarchs of Bornu, meanwhile initiating the beginning of the Kanembu dynasty which sits on the Bornu throne today.

175 The traditional Mai set up a new capital, called Kafela (open
643 place) near the present town of Monguno, and Laminu resided for a while at
[103] nearby Ngorno on the shores of Chad. However the constant threat of inun-
[361] dation from the Lake forced him to move his headquarters further inland to
[721] Kuka which became the 19th century center of the Bornu state. Ruling from behind the scenes, with the Mai still on the throne as a puppet, Laminu tried to re-consolidate the kingdom from 1820-35, by recapturing the western vassals, and even at one point (1826) by menacing Kano. It was during this period that Denham and Clapperton visited Bornu and in their publications we have a good record of the contemporary court life and politics of the kingdom, as well as some glimpses into the nature of everyday life in

175 In response to this constant warfare, villages in
361 danger would 29.
712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

175 This pattern of constant warfare in Bornu is very old. The
721 contemporary record of the reign of Mai Idris Alooma, which has been pre-
178 served, is almost entirely an account of one military campaign after
175 another. Firearms have been used in Bornu for at least 400 years, and the
411 first request that Shehu Laminu made of the European explorers, who found
178 their way there in the 1820's, was for a cannon.(1) The interest in war-
175 fare by the leaders was reflected in the highly organized manner in which
726 warfare was conducted. Thus, before the battle witnessed by Denham, the
[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little "staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for the entire camp.

173 Informants in Maiduguri recalled 24 Kachellas in pre-Rabeh
701 Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first
[644] was called the "house" force. It generally remained close to the Shehu, and its soldiers constituted a standing army or palace guard whose primary duty was the protection of the monarchy. The second division was called the "bush" unit, not because it fought outside the capital, but rather be-

(1) Ibid., p. 149.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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since the absence of the local chief with a force of young men had tempted the neighbouring chief, or some wandering nomad raiders, to plunder the town for slaves and booty.

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When the British arrived in Bornu to weld the Emirate into their Colonial Empire, it should be emphasized that they were confronted by a way of life, whose known and partly recorded past had been flowing on through at least 1100 years of continuous, unbroken and independent national history. During that time the power of the monarchy had risen and fallen in successive waves of power and decline. In the 12th and 13th centuries the first Kanuri florescence occurred in Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, only to decline in the 14th century and finally beat a forced retreat from the center of their empire into Bornu proper, to the west of the Lake. Here, to the south of the river Yo, they hoped for some safety from the northern raiders which was afforded by the river. The 16th and 17th centuries saw the second emergence of a Kanuri Empire in the Sudan, which, although often neglected by historians of the region, was effective enough to resist the eastward expansion of Songhai at the zenith of its power. Slow decline followed in the 17th and 18th centuries until a near collapse, due to Fulani expansionism at the beginning of the 19th century, could only be avoided by a new dynasty taking over the rule of the kingdom, which maintained itself and the kingdom until Rabeh's desecration of Bornu in 1893. However, even Rabeh was slowly beginning to reorganize the broken kingdom when the British arrived, and it is evident that the complete chaos, conventionally charged to Bornu at the beginning of the 19th century, has been over-emphasized. Forces of re-consolidation were in operation which would have kept the Bornu state in existence, albeit under a new dynasty.

It is evident from an appraisal of Kanuri history that its

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642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organization of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained.
[701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organ-
[692] ization. Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation
[652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

178 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
633 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
463 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
433 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials
439 of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

178 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in
642 terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

3: Cohen E-4, 5 (1956-1957) 1980 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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thing to join on to, then the size of the state is merely an expression of the administrative and military capacities of the government at any given time in its history, in relation to the same factors amongst its neighbour states.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Chapter III

The Colonial Period

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The particular events and social changes occurring in Bornu during the last half century must be viewed as taking place within the larger setting of the British colonial regime of Northern Nigeria. For our present purposes, it is sufficient to note that during this period an English colonial administration had been grafted onto the indigenous social systems of the Northern Region through the use of what has come to be called "indirect rule".(1) This conjunction of the African social systems under the subordination of colonial rule has resulted in expanding trade, the inception of western education, the development of a native civil service, increased contact with other tribal groups, and a network of modern roads and means of communication. How these changes and the policy of "indirect rule" have affected Bornu is the concern of the present chapter.

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Before the British arrived in Bornu, the French had already defeated and killed Rabeh and his son. They then re-instated the Kanuri Shehu, Sanda Kura, and subsequently his younger brother Garbai. These two ruled from Dikwa, Rabeh's old capital, which at the turn of the century was considered to be in French territory. The French allowed the Kanuri rulers to institute any system of political organization they wished as long as they could deliver 80,000 Maria Theresa dollars per annum to the French as tribute. In 1902, Governor Lugard sent Captain Morland to Bornu and it is reported that the Captain ". . . sent for Garbai and formally installed him as Shehu of British Bornu at Kuka."(2)

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(1) See Lugard, F.D. (Sir) The Dual Mandate, (London) 1929; Cook, A.N. British Enterprise in Nigeria, (Philadelphia) 1943; Burns, (Sir) Alan, History of Nigeria, (London) 1955; Coleman, J.S., Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, (California) 1958.

(2) Annual Report: Bornu Province 1909. In the Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Province, Nigeria.

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661 not present and appoint chima guna to live in each village of the District, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings, i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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631 Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the political organization from the colonial contact, a major functional problem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

• [178] Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

[166] The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

175 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school
871 was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic.(1) Muslim religious knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the curriculum, while English did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pupils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bornu is far behind that of any other province in the region. Certainly most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elementary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged.
175 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many
871 outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-
167 keeping culture and technology require. Due to over-population and a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century
361 capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local
[132] area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Alo river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village.
175 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly
369 large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly ex-
433 panded population which flowed in when it became the center of the
178 Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1915

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the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons of millet per week in excess of (1) the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialized needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganisation which the British carried on, an economic [565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state [491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

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In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south. (2) This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 sa (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).

(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

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648 political organization was the activities of the touring officer who might, by contacting local complaints, discover a necessity for reform which could bring British power into play in the Bornu political structure.

• 178 This relatively stable accommodation of the 1930's re-
434 vealed, by such examples as the Mobber case, has been upset by recent
[435] events in the post World War II period. The rapid rise in the price paid for groundnuts (the cash crop) from £3 to £11 per ton in 1946 caused the Resident to report "we are witnessing an economic change . . . possibly a revolution . . . for the farmer is now in command of a ready supply of cash . . . and for the first time the peasant has in his hands more money than he knows how to spend."(1) Again in 1947 he comments, "money is pouring into the hands of the people and there is nothing for them to spend it on . . . Money is available in great quantity for development but we can do little for want of staff and materials."(2) The post-war boom aided and abetted by the mustering out pay of the returning soldiers(3) had hit Bornu unprepared.

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648 In actual fact, there was not so much confusion on the part of the peasant over what to do with his new found wealth as there was on the part of the administration as to what to do with theirs. The trading companies quickly expanded both import and export facilities to meet the rapid increase in income and consumption. There is no indication of inability to spend money either in the published figures of Nigerian commerce, or in the memories of contemp-

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1946
(2) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1947
(3) Pedlar, P.J. A Study of Income and Expenditure in Northern Zaria; in Africa 18, 259-271, 1948.

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648 orary peasants whose only reaction to the boom was to plant cash crops and buy more of the things that they always wanted to buy, especially around harvest time. However, the entire outlook and organization of the administration had been built up in the slow, "steady" years between the wars and now a "development" program was needed in order to plan for and dispense the large sums of money suddenly becoming available at the local level. Before long, new government buildings, schools, medical dispensaries and local N.A. [51] salaries were going up. In Maiduguri, bicycles, radios, tin roofs on houses, motor cars and trucks began to be common sights and needs.

178 On the national scene, Nigerian independence was a new
619 wind blowing up from the south that eventually came to Bornu and
648 brought her leaders into closer contact with the emerging political parties of Nigeria. Radios and ease of travel, even to those well out in the "bush", brought the people of Bornu into closer contact not only with the rest of Bornu, but into a growing unity of sentiments and even language and culture with the entire Muslim popula-
177 tion of Northern Nigeria. Since 1950 a movie theater in Maiduguri has brought the American cowboy as well as an immediate perception of many other aspects of American and European life into the heart of Bornu, so that to many of the people there we in North America are not as strange to them as they and their culture are to us.

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kèrami (younger sibling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
(602) would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
(606) ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

581 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
582 desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

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(1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[841] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593
428 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[184] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
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178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
881 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mal-lams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

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[558] Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[778] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426
554 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
577 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178
463 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
[167] of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders, often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

463 554 184 rank for traditional high status jobs among their first twenty choices was 12.0, while for the older boys the same score was 7.3. That is to say, there are grounds for investigating an hypothesis (which needs further testing for its validation) that the older schoolboys are less enamoured of high status European jobs than their junior school fellows, of whom many have just recently come into the city school from bush districts. (This "difference" may, of course, reflect the fact that the attempt to create an irreality situation is more difficult for older than for younger boys).

178 463 554 The occupations which the British have supported by salaried appointments, such as Shehu, Wazirl, Alkalai, District Head, Village Head, have kept their higher status. On the other hand, unsupported but traditionally high status positions such as Shehu's slave, horsed servant of a chief, or Kachella Shehube (colonel in the pre-British Kanuri army) have not retained their high status positions, relatively speaking. The exception to this rule is the Koranic mallam who, although not give official support in the form of a salary, has kept his high status because 178 463 554 184 of the continuity of his religious functions into the present day. The following table compares these types of occupations for both the younger and older boys, using averaged cardinal rankings.

TABLE VII

Supported and Unsupported Traditionally High Status Occupations

	Ranking	
	Younger	Older
State supported traditionally high status	15.4	11.9
State unsupported traditionally high status	36.9	31.9

It should be noticed that here again there seems to be a tendency (not significant statistically) for the older boys to rank the tra-

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

178 463 554 [184] ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In their choice of Koranic mallam the older boys put that status in 6th place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

128 463 554 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

463 554 [171] It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers[1] that young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

(1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Combaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

554 lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, dis-
602 reputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing
[156] was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into
602 any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of
554 status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime.(1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants.

[178] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly crea-
[648] ting a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society.

[871] Consequehtly, a large proportion of the young western educated group are
[369] sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in

565 the large urban centre. At the peasant level many of the craft workers
463 in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the
602 other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

565 one of the other
369 common features of the tala or peasant class is the verticality of
571 their social relations. This is especially true of political affiliations. All rural and most or many urban tala can give an easily elicited answer to the question, "Whose tala are you?" The person questioned then tells the name of his Lawan (Village Area Head).(1) Thus tala not only connotes peasant or commoner, it also means someone's peasant, i.e. [178] under the jurisdiction of some political office holder. The fact that there is in the city a small but growing number of people who do not feel this verticality or connectedness upward in a traditional manner is one of the most profound portents of social change in contemporary Bornu.

565 The tala, rural and urban, have many cultural characteris-
369 tics in common. They most often wear a short work shirt (dankiki) during the day, and their conversation is less etiquette ridden and more direct than that of the upper class. Linguistic usages among the tala vary from place to place, but generally involve the dropping of some of the consonantal phonemes. Thus in Magumeri musko (hand) was pronounced muko by the tala. These linguistic differences are considered to be less elegant and correct compared to the speech of the upper class. As in many class societies the speech of the lower classes is coloured by many words which the upper class considers to come within the scope of profanity. Thus a Kanuri tala always sprinkles his friendly conversation with many references to Allah or to "the wonder of Allah", or even occasional exclamatory references to excrement and the excretory functions. [828] To the upper classes evil deeds are committed by evil men (kam dibi); the same wrongdoer is more often referred to with an epithet like _____ shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

[633] (1) The city is divided into large wards with Lawans as their Head Men and Hamlet Heads (Bulama) as the heads of sub-wards.

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.[1] The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 [644] The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 [431] [476] In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

631 Another good example of this point was observed in the field.
661 The DH of Magumeri, Digma, had obtained a Village Area Headship in Damaturu District for his younger (full) brother in 1944, while he was DH of Damaturu District. His younger brother had been extremely high-handed in the administration of his Village Area and was difficult to bring under control. The brother was finally deposed in 1949, after Digma had been sent to another District and a new DH had taken over Damaturu District. When Digma was made DH of Magumeri in 1952, he made no move to install his younger brother as a Village Area Head (Lawan). He told the writer that it was his intention not to do so in the future because his brother was a "bad man" who oppressed his villagers if he got the chance, and such misdemeanors reflected back on himself as the head of
[602] the District. In the politics of Bornu, the "unity of siblings" is tempered by the requirements of office.

The N. A. Officials in the District

634 Local representatives of the various branches of the N. A.
647 are stationed in the District Capital. These include (in Magumeri) a District Chief Scribe and his assistants, a veterinary mallam, a hides and skins mallam, an adult education mallam, an agricultural field assistant, the Junior Primary School Headmaster, Arabic teacher, and student teacher, between three and five N. A. Messengers, two to four N. A. policemen, a prison warder, and finally a Muslim Judge (Alkali) for the District court, and his retinue of followers. This list may be expanded or contracted from one District to another, depending upon the number of
[178] civil service branches that are represented in the area. Today the tendency is towards expansion of these services and thus expansion of the personnel stationed out in the "bush." These officials are paid salaries by the N. A. and live in one ward of the District capital (away from the

643 The Shehu is also the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This
793 is embodied in his title "Commander of the Faithful", and is expressed
796 ritually in various ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadam (a yearly fast) it is believed to be a sunna (injunction of the Prophet) that a special ram of the Shehu be killed by the Liman (Chief priest of Bornu). No one considering himself a subject of the Shehu may kill his own ram until the royal ceremony is completed.

644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday, to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at the palace by representatives of the people. These include the nobility, any DH's who may be in the capital, or their city Wakils, and a representative section of the N.A. departments, a sample of the schoolboy population of the city, and the crafts and trade leaders of the entire city community. A symbolic pledge of loyalty and obedience is made through the saying of prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including all the nobles go down on their knees to their monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly, using terms of reverence and respect incessantly in their conversation.

643 The question can be posed (but not answered at present) as to the real power and authority of the Shehu in the modern state of
[123] Bornu. The answer would require much more intimacy with the higher coun-
[178] cils of Bornu than was achieved during the field work. However, the writer feels that the monarch is becoming more and more a ritual head as the complexity of the modern state in its internal and external affairs increases. This has been aided and abetted in recent years by the extreme age and blindness of the present Shehu. It was commonly felt among informants around the palace, among DH's, and among many others of

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

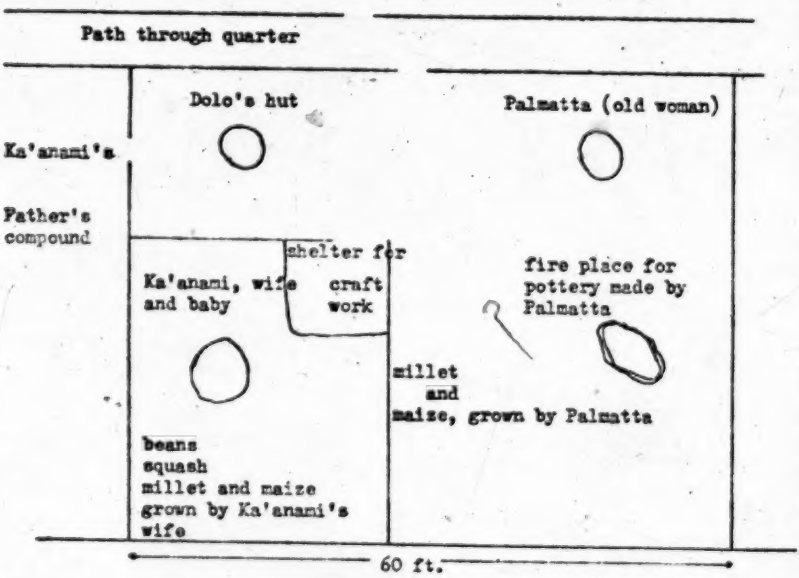
439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Maguneri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
• 178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishana (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

461 on the gourds. Thus his social life and craft production are inextricably interwoven. This is the human side of cottage industry. Wife, relatives, children and friends, all are intermeshed in the social context of his economic activity.

• 178 415 When steel enamel ware and other receptacles, mass produced in the factories of industrialized countries, are used by wider numbers of people, for more and more purposes, and appear at progressively competitive prices, Ka'anami and those like him will come face to face with the modern world.

592 351 Ka'anami's Compound



000
231 of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

342 There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accommodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is
[178] the predominant variety. Today, burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

511 With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of
[356] huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase
[351] proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

342 Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the
476 lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and
565 relatives to organize a serwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organizing relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Chapter X

Summary and Conclusions

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642 The description of pre-Colonial Bornu has indicated that despite the rise and fall of its fortune the Kanuri political organization has had a remarkable resiliency throughout the last millenium. As long as the system of feudal organization remained with its nucleus at the capital city and court of the monarch, then the rise and fall of the empire was not fatal to its continuity. Kanuri feudalism is a segmentary corporate political structure; while the top remains intact, the expansion and contraction of the State itself bears no relation to its survival.

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631 The traditional background from which the present society obtains its roots has been altered in this century by contact with British colonialism. In Northern Nigeria the administration was deeply affected by the views of its founder Lugard, whose own control of the organization of the regional colonial service ensured that many of its norms, procedures and its overall policy would be an embodiment of his personal philosophy of colonialism. In Bornu, this meant that the pre-Rabeh Kanuri leaders regained their old positions, the Shehu was placed at the head of the State (now called the Bornu Emirate), and the fief-holders now called District Heads or Ajias, went to live in "bush" on their respective fiefs. The Village Heads within each district were appointed because of hereditary claims to the position while the District Heads over them were chosen because of their relationship to the monarch and/or other powerful groups at the capital. This set up possible conflicts between DH's and the Village Heads in their districts
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642 which has lasted to the present day. The policy of the British was to rule through and strengthen the authority of the native leaders, while

175 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the
648 British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

177 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The
178 ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabeh, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been [433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the [494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

177 The introduction of the few European trading houses has
441 served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-

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441 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

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642 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political
[182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

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571 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behaviour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

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648 and conflicting standards of performance for incumbents of political roles.

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665 The results of this complexity leads to large factions each under one of the segments of power at the center of the State. Or again in the terminology adapted here - there are large extended household organizations beginning at the center of the State and incorporating in their control all DH's and Lawans (and through the Lawans, all Wards, Hamlets and compounds). Traditionally the ruler kept faction leaders close to his capital and could replace them at any time by followers, slaves or eunuchs. The ruler's subordinates made sure that the line of authority between themselves and their fief and its subjects was a loyal one. Only upon the death of a ruler was there much danger of factional disputes disrupting the political organization of the State.

• [178] Today this system is in difficulty because the factional segments are not under the control of any one source of power. Because of the shifts in personnel and in personal fortunes due to conflicts with British standards, and new avenues of political success (the N.A.) at the center, the segments cross-cut one another. Thus a Lawan who is a loyal follower of a DH in district X finds himself in district Y under another DH. Or a DH finds that he has N.A. personnel from the capital in his district who are connected to political segments beyond his control.

Integrative organizational tendencies tend to offset some of the present difficulties. We have seen how DH's try to incorporate Lawans into their own organization or, if this is not possible, the DH attempts to replace them with trustworthy followers. Informal communication channels are developed so that forecasts of changes in

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

156 571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of bərzum relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

178 511 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

178 511 their own "norm of living", thereby raising evaluative standards and creating desires for economic development among leaders. These changes have not as yet deeply affected the peasant population. But even in the bush new wants which mean wider and eventually more expensive consumption patterns can be seen among those rural people whose occupations put them in continuous contact with the cities. It seems inevitable that evaluations of present "norm of living" will become increasingly negative, and the desire for more goods, more comfort and more services will spread over the entire population. As we have seen, the Bornu peasantry are in no sense cut off from urban life, and must eventually follow the cultural lead of the city.

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433 The organization of production in Bornu is marked by a high degree of flexibility, or what might be called change potential. The description has isolated several factors all of which tend to promote a wide variability in productive pursuits. These are as follows:

1. Ecology; the cultivation of crops takes only part of the year and most cultivators have other occupations besides farming. The balance between farming and non-farming activities is determined by disease, the predicability of the rains, prices of agricultural produce, soil depletion, and the attractiveness of non-agricultural occupations. The interplay of these determinants has resulted in a peasant population which, except for surplus producers, is only semi-agricultural, and a balance of agricultural to non-agricultural work which, for reasons both ecological and social, is never stable.

2. Differentiation of labour; the dependence of many men on their wives as primary sources of labour, and the high incidence of divorce makes for an unpredictable amount of labour in agricultural production. Furthermore social stratification and full time specialisation of labour

433 open a path to further differentiation in production, which has been accelerated by the flexibility of the productive organization, and the introduction of many new occupations, as well as western education.

[425] 3. Political relations; although the largest single factor among rural cultivators in land transfer is inheritance, 25% of the sample survey acquired land through their relationships to political leaders. For many people, political relations are fairly stable. However, for the newcomer, or those who develop hostile relations with their leaders, this factor may vary a person's access to some of the productive land.

178 433 434 Kanuri production, like their consumption, is at a comparatively low level. Although there has been some expansion in the last two decades, increases in consumptive wants have for the most part been met by the general rise in world prices which has given the economy a rising income level in relation to costs of traditional necessities. This phenomenon has caused the people of Bornu to pass beyond a "point of no return" in so far as rising world prices have stimulated and helped meet new wants. As we have said, the expansion of wants is continuing; if the prices of cash cropping levels off or drops, Kanuri production will rise to fill the gap, and/or social unrest, opposition movements to government, and general dissatisfaction with things as they are will also increase.

433 Even though the relation of agricultural to non-agricultural production is highly flexible, the level of production is not. The amount produced is limited by technology, cottage industry, attitudes to work and the present low cost of living.

441 To the Kanuri, trade is an occupation among others in their society, and traders are identified linguistically by the commodity they deal in, or if these are many, then simply by the general term for trader.

441 As we have seen there are a variety of trading relationships. First of all there is the extended household organization model, in which a household head gives his subordinates money and goods. These are either real household members, kin relations, or people who have spent some time as household subordinates as a prelude to their trading activities. This kind of trade uses the traditional pattern of Kanuri social organization as its structural framework. Indeed it is because the "finance trader" heads a large extended household organization, along traditional lines, that he is a person of high status and prestige in the society. Unlike medieval Europe, feudal Bornu has easily incorporated the trader role into the moral and organizational structure of traditional society.

With all shades of mixture in between the two, another variety of trading relationship is one in which the persons involved are related because of the commodity in which they both deal. Terminology from the traditional organization is used to describe the role relationships so that the supplier is called by a Hausa term for head of the household (mai gida) and the person who buys from him is called, boy, follower, son, subordinate (tada). However, the basis for the relationship is highly differentiated, and defined largely by the commodity being distributed.

178 441 Judging by the course of social evolution in western economic organization, which has seen a development from diffuse personal relationships in a feudal background, to one governed by relationship through commodities and services, it is tempting to assume that the same will occur in Bornu. However, it is not so easy for this writer to see such an evolution taking place in any complete sense until standards of living rise significantly and people consume much more than they do now. In Europe the hitherto pariah trading role and relationship became a

178 441 necessary underpinning to the emerging national status of feudalism. Ultimately the unrecognized low status but politically powerful trading class gave birth to a new social order in which religion and social values cherished contractual, commodity defined social relations as having high status.(1) But traditional Bornu feudal society has already incorporated trading roles into its traditional social structure without changing its values or social relations. That is to say trade poses no problem for traditional Bornu society.

441 434 It is because of the very low consumption level that there is such a plethora of middlemen in Bornu. No one middleman (except the large European Companies) has the necessary capital to hold stocks long enough to satisfy the comparatively low demand. Thus as Bauer has suggested(2) the multiplicity of middlemen, each dealing in very small quantities, with low profits, fills the requirements of distribution in a low income and expenditure area. As long as these large numbers of middlemen are needed for distribution in Bornu, the extended household organization model of social relations is well suited to meet the requirements of the tasks to be performed. Indeed it is one of the few ways in which new recruits can be enlisted to middlemen roles in an area where no large pools of capital are available to would-be entrepreneurs. On the other hand, socio-economic relations through commodities alone, often requires some capital to initiate the relationship, as, for instance, in the case of Ajimi, and his four suppliers of kola-nuts. His relationship with them is through kola-nut sales, for which he had capital to invest. He gets the capital from his membership in

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(1) See Cohen, R., Trade and the Middleman in Social Systems; M. Sc. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1954.
(2) Bauer, P. T., West African Trade; pp. 26-7

441 452 the extended household organization of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organizations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

• 178 571 [177] The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

183 571 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.

182 But these norms are in turn dependant upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the adult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 bərzum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization, which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or cohesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

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Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizontally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfortable with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State. This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "cross-linked" by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating. However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

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(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford:Blackwell, 1955.

178 where the weakening occurs. This is the reason why the emergence of
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369 a very large city population poses a danger to the entire social system of Bornu. With a population approaching 100,000 in the restricted space of an urban center, it is increasingly difficult for everyone to connect himself to the hierarchical networks of social relations that make up the socio-political structure of Bornu. Thus the 1952 census recognized 4-5000 "vagrants" in Maiduguri and present estimates (1956-7) put this figure much higher. When this system of hierarchical linkages becomes less possible, it is a simple step to the formation of associations based primarily on linkages of simple interest, political parties, trade and occupation unions and so on. The beginning of such organizations can already be seen in the capital city of Maiduguri today.

178 Closely related to this verticality in Kanuri society is
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511 the widespread poverty and the relative increase in wealth as one moves up the status system. For it is materially beneficial at present for a subordinate to give subservience and loyalty to his senior. This means that a substantial rise in the standard of living can dispose of one
178 of the major functions served by the present social structure. If a
571 tendency is set up in favour of horizontal rather than vertical rela-
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556 tionships in the society, the fundamental philosophy of wealth will become a cart without a horse. For in the values of the contemporary culture the proper use of wealth is the creation of vertical relationships.

000 These remarks are not meant to be taken as categorical prophesies concerning the future of Kanuri society. The writer is painfully aware of limitations to accurate prediction which beset his own work and that of contemporary anthropology. However, having made an analysis of the structural framework of this society it seems advisable